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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
LANCASHIRE DIALECT SOCIETY

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PROGRAMME FOR 1960

On Thursday, February 11th, Mr. J. Cassidy, of Ashton-under-Lyne, who is an old member of the Society, will speak on "Dialect from the Cradle to the Grave."

On Thursday, May 12th, the Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held, with our President, Sir Harold Parkinson, K.B.E., in the chair. After the business of that meeting has been concluded, Dr. Roy F. Leslie will speak on "Popular Etymology."

On Thursday, November 24th, Mr. R. U. Sayce, another veteran amongst our members, will speak on "Folk Belief and Folk Experience." No one who heard Mr. Sayce's earlier talk on "Old Kinds of Farm Tools" will need to be reminded of his charm and erudition.

All meetings will be held in the Arts Buildings of the University and will commence at 7-0 p.m. It is hoped that members will realise that these meetings provide the only occasions on which they can join in the corporate life of this Society, and that there is nothing like a good audience for producing a good talk from a good speaker.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Subscriptions for 1960 become due on 1st January, 1960. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Leslie Procter, Certified Accountant, Willow House, Waterfoot, Rossendale, Lancs. The subscription for libraries is 10s.; for individual members the minimum is 5s. The Life Membership subscription is £5 5s. 0d.

LANCASHIRE DIALECT SOCIETY

(FOUNDED JANUARY 1951)

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LANCASHIRE DIALECT SOCIETY

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Year ending 31st December, 1958.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions:			
Current and Arrears	45	7	0
Current Libraries	15	18	0
Life Members	10	10	0
Donations	1	13	10
Sale of Journals		10	0
Building Society Interest	2	18	9
Balance, 31st December 1957:			
Current Account	12	8	10
Bradford Equitable Building Society	84	2	6
	96	11	4
	£173	8	11

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Postages and Stationery	7	17	10
Bank Commission		1	0
Balance, 31st December 1958:			
Martin's Bank Limited	78	8	10
Bradford Equitable Building Society	87	1	3
	165	10	1
	£173	8	11

Note: The accounts for printing the Dec. 1958 Journal and the Secretary and Treasurer's expenses have not been received.

Audited and found correct,
S. ROBERTS,
13th February, 1959.

LESLIE PROCTER, *Hon. Treasurer.*
21st January, 1959.
Willow House, Waterfoot, Rossendale, Lancs.

EDITORIAL

It is fitting that a dialect society should pay tribute to dialect writers whenever possible. In this issue of the Journal we include an appraisal of the life and work of Joseph Baron, poet and playwright of Blackburn, better known as Tum o' Dick o' Bob's, the centenary of whose birth falls in this year. It is written by George Miller, himself well known as a dialect writer, who recently addressed the Society on the subject of "Some Blackburn Characters."

We continue our policy of furthering original research into dialect by printing in this issue an investigation into some North Lancashire dialect words. It is contributed by Mr. Gerald Watson who has spent some time on research into dialect boundaries in that area. We also include the second instalment of Professor McDavid's article on the study of dialect in America; and some more observations on the speech of Liverpool by Frank Shaw, who has recently added to his status as an authority on standard Liverpudlian by providing material for the script of a prize-winning television film about the city.

A list of current members is printed at the end of this Journal, and we have cause to feel satisfied at the growing numbers of both Life Members and overseas subscribers, an indication that confidence in our future is growing at home while our fame spreads abroad. We also welcome two new patrons, Sir Adrian Boult and Sir John Russell, both too well known to need any introduction to members.

At the moment of going to press we have been saddened by the news of Arnold Boyd's death. A contributor to the Journal and a celebrated authority on English natural history, he was one of our most distinguished members; but by those of us who were privileged to know him he will be remembered chiefly as a country man, whose love of nature gave his utterances about it a depth of insight and humanity which few writers of our own time have been able to surpass.

SOME NORTH LANCASHIRE DIALECT WORDS

by GERALD T. WATSON, M.A., A.C.A.

As long ago as the spring of 1952, I was at work trying to discover dialect boundaries in Lancashire north of the Ribble. The main purpose of the investigation was to throw light upon the boundary between the Northern and North Midland dialects by plotting the regional distribution of the various pronunciations of words, representing the same ideas over the whole area. However, I did feel that it might be interesting to select a few ideas at random and see what kind of words the area would produce for them. Accordingly, I added three questions to my questionnaire to discover the area's words for a scarecrow, for being left-handed and for a sheep on its back. The answers to these questions are the basis of the following maps and their explanations.

SCARECROW

The area produced four variants for this word, all of which are connected with the central ideas of putting to flight and frightening, and three of which are compounded with the word crow.

'Scarecrow' is the Standard English word for the notion, the first element of which is derived from Old Norse **skirra**—to frighten and the second from Old English **crawe**—a crow. The question then arises whether the word is the genuine dialect term for a scarecrow or whether it is a borrowing from Standard English. An answer might be found by seeing how the word was pronounced, in that if it showed the same development as other words containing similar groups of vowels and consonants, then in all probability, it could be assumed to be the regular dialect variant. Again, however, it might equally be argued that if a word was adopted from Standard English, it would be given the same dialect turn as other words derived from similar roots. In such a case, then, where the same word occurs both in Standard English and dialect, the dialectologist would have to rely upon his judgment in securing genuine sources and would have to cover a wider area than was undertaken here to determine word distribution.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'boggart' is a word 'popular in Westmorland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire and the North Midlands.' It is evidently related to the words 'boggle,' 'bogle' and 'bog,' the last in the sense of a bugbear or source of dread, probably connected with the Welsh **bwg**—a ghost. Clearly the central core of meaning is something that inspires fear and so the word might appropriately be applied to a scarecrow. Its occurrence, as the map indicates, seems restricted to the Fylde area, being found as far north as Ford Green and Pilling.

The first element of the word 'flaycrow' is derived from Old Norse **fleyja**—to put to flight. 'Flaycrow' is regularly found as far south as the Cokerham and Abbeystead area and to that point vies

SCARECROW

only with the Standard English 'scarecrow.' These particular 'scarecrow' forms might well be adoptions from Standard English, as their pronunciations show a different development from other words with similar roots in the same area and since they occur in hilly districts where the use of scarecrows might not be so common. The 'flaycrow' forms at Chipping and Ribchester, just north of the Ribble, are difficult to explain without more evidence from neighbouring areas. They might represent a once much wider extension of the northern form that has since been gradually replaced by the Standard English 'scarecrow' or they might represent the introduction of the form from the east through the Ribble gap.

The solitary example of the word 'frightener' at Woodplumpton would seem to be an idosyncrasy of the source rather than an expected

been an ambiguous question. Hence the map shows a composite of adjectives and nouns.

Altogether five different groups of words were brought to light, 'left-handed,' 'bank-handed,' 'cuddy,' the 'cow-' and the 'key-' combinations. 'Left-handed,' appearing only at Lowgill, is self-explanatory and most probably an adoption from Standard English. Of 'bang-handed' there is no mention in Wright's Dialect Dictionary or the Oxford English Dictionary. Words such as 'banger' in the sense of 'anything very large in proportion to the rest of its kind' are recorded however, and perhaps in these is to be found the origin of the term 'bank-handed.' It would seem to have first passed through the stage of 'clumsy-handed,' before being applied to somebody 'left-handed' who, by normal standards, appears clumsy.

'Cuddy,' apart from its occurrence at Aughton, is confined to the north western area and would seem to be the dialect word for donkey. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word is of uncertain origin though it occurs frequently in the Northern dialects. It is merely the application of the name of a lower form of life as a term of derision to a human being. In this way too the 'cow-' group of words is best interpreted.

Of all the forms those in 'key-' are perhaps the most interesting. Apparently here we have to deal with a word rare even dialectally. The Oxford English Dictionary confines the word to Cheshire and Lancashire, where it is recorded as appearing as 'kay-fisted, -neived and -pawed.' Readers will remember in the medieval tale of 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,' supposedly written in this area, how the Green Knight, in preparation for a blow with his axe, puts his left foot forward on the ground.

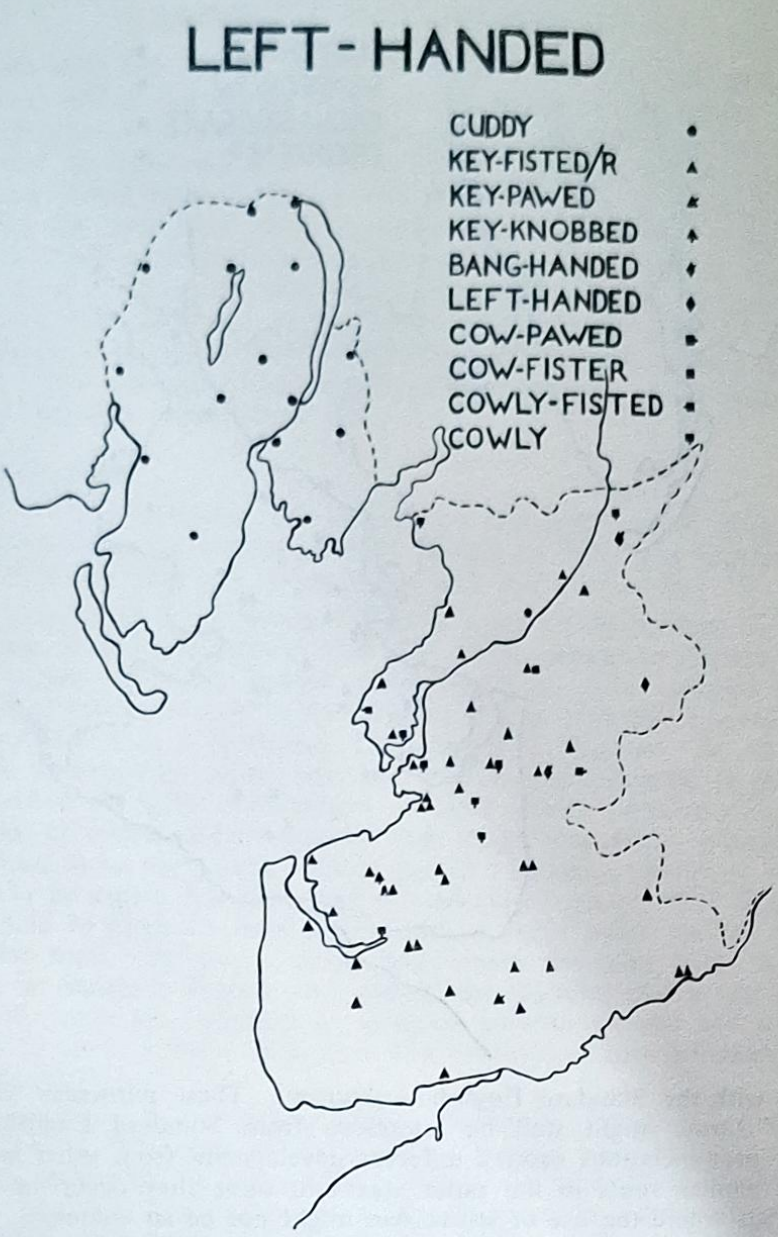
'The kay fot on the fold he before sette.' (Line 422).

It is only by research of this nature that the distribution of such rare forms will be brought to light and so prove invaluable in determining the localities in which hitherto doubtful texts have been written.

Most of the second elements of the dialect compounds seem to stress the idea of awkwardness in left-handers. 'Fisted,' 'pawed' and 'knobbed' all suggest heavy-handed clumsiness. 'Fisted,' however, might be a dialectal retention of an older meaning of 'handed' rather than the modern idea of clenched fingers. 'Pawed' obviously reinforces the animal comparison, particularly in its association with the 'cow-' element. 'Knobbed' the English Dialect Dictionary does not record in connection with the hand, but has it referring to anything big, especially to parts of the body such as the nose, toe and head. Dialect ingenuity has extended the word's coverage to include the hand.

The distribution of the various forms can only be generally assigned. 'Cuddy' is confined to the north western area, except for its occurrence at Aughton. The 'key' group occupies the whole of

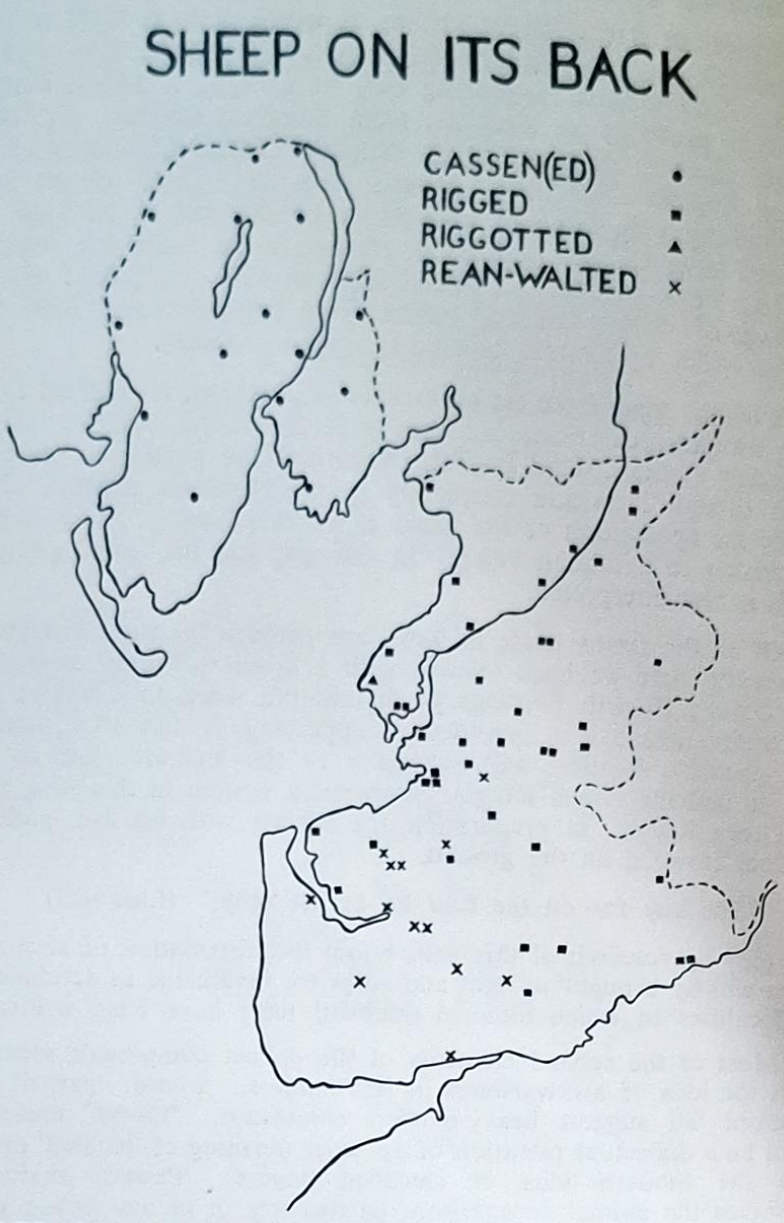
dialect variant. Wright, in his English Dialect Dictionary, gives no account of this word used in the sense of a scarecrow.



LEFT-HANDED

On the whole, the question produced the notion 'left-handed,' i.e. the adjective, but occasionally, particularly with 'key-fist-', the question resulted in the source giving his variant of a 'left-handed person,' i.e. the noun. As the research was not directed at showing the nature of dialect word formation and as the forms were so closely related, no effort was made to reframe what in other circumstances would have

the Fylde area as far north as Cockerham and north of there appears intermingled chiefly with the 'cow' group.



SHEEP ON ITS BACK

Three distinct regional variants were given for the notion of 'a sheep on its back.' The north western area universally has 'cassen(ed),' the Fylde area most frequently 'rean-walted,' and the rest of the area 'rigged,' apart from the one occurrence of 'riggoted' at Heysham.

The north western form is to be derived from Old Norse **kasta**— cast. Where an additional '-ed' occurs this would seem to be an

the ensuing months I came to know him as well as a schoolboy can know a man of middle age. He had a passion for classical literature and under his shrewd guidance I soon acquired the same tastes, the same love for a well-chosen word or a well-turned phrase that has remained with me ever since. But whenever I entered his shop after that eventful day, he invariably greeted me with the same question: "Well, my lad, wod does tha want for threepence to-day?"

Blackburn is proud of its poetic tradition and although it has never produced a poet of the calibre of Francis Thompson, whose birthplace in the neighbouring town of Preston is now the object of many a literary pilgrimage, yet it gave birth to more than one matter of the "rhymed word" and of these Joseph Baron was undoubtedly the most versatile. A nephew of that grand old songster, John Baron, in addition to a vast output of dialect verse he was the author of the "Blegburn Dickshonary," which first appeared in the Blackburn times and in an enlarged form, subsequently achieved wide-spread fame as the "Lankisher Lickshonary." Local historian as well as poet, he wrote a short "History of Blackburn," of which 1,100 copies were ordered before the day of publication, as well as a guide to "Ribble Land, its Scenery, History and Legendary Lore." He also wrote a history of the Blackburn Rovers Football Club which has proved a mine of information for subsequent sports writers. In addition he was a playwright of no mean order. In 1883 a comedy from his pen entitled: "His Grandfather's Clock" was produced at New Sadler's Wells Theatre, whilst a comedietta, "Slightly Suspicious," appeared on the boards of the Globe Theatre in 1891.

Our poet was born in Rishton on May 7th, 1859 and was educated at Blackburn Grammar School, where, to quote the words of his biographer, "He took to learning as a duck takes to water." In his late 'teens he served for some years as a solicitor's clerk, but finding the dry letter of the law little to his taste, he embarked instead upon the wide adventurous sea of journalism, working on the staff of the "Lancashire Daily Express" and the "Blackburn Weekly Telegraph." For some years he was also editor and manager of the "Blackpool Weekly," as well as a valued contributor to many national periodicals.

In dialect verse, thanks to his complete mastery of his medium, his power and range was unequalled, but he was also a master of King's English in light verse. Indeed, his amusing ballad of "The Butcher and the Lawyer," which immortalises that eccentric Blackburn character, Thomas Clough the attorney, is almost equal to anything in Barham's "Ingoldsby Legends." Here is a typical excerpt:

"You may go to a Jew and buy things cheap;
You may catch a weazel when asleep;
You may get the best of a tax collector,
A plumber's bill or a mill inspector.
You may be able to disarrange
The schemes of the 'Bulls and Bears' on 'Change—

If you're pretty deep, and a trifle clever,
But as for doing a lawyer—never . . .
Remember, when going to attorneys
You are always on expensive journeys,
Son don't talk of last week's sun and shower
At the rate of six-and-eight per hour."

Equally felicitous is his laughable poem entitled: "Cuttin' id teeth," of which, although it is still a favourite party piece, one specimen verse must suffice here:

"It's bitten away at th' Tum-cat's tail, till th' Tum-cat's ta'en its hook;
It's bitten away ten bob's arrears fro' th' rent collector's book;
It's bitten hoyles i' th' sofy seeat, an' th' polish off th' cheer legs,
An' still that little begger corn't fot eawt them peggy-wegs."

Finally, here is a homely word of advice which will have a special appeal to gradely Lancastrians, even in these sophisticated days:

"If trouble comes unto a friend
Dorn'd straightway tak' yo'r hook,
But stick close to him reet to th'end
An' allus do yo'r nook . . .
This world wod be a different place
An' faces breeter look,
If everybody wi' good grace
Wod nobbut do their nook.
An' when th' Recordin' Angel teks
Eawr items in his Book,
Heaw grand when he this entry meks:
'He allus dud his nook'."

If I were to compare Joseph Baron with some of his great contemporaries and friends, for he numbered amongst his cronies such literary giants as Edwin Waugh and Sam Laycock, I would say that he was distinguished by his over-riding sense of fun, which always bubbled through the current of his conversation in a genial and wholesome stream. But he was nevertheless also a man of letters, with a profound knowledge of the Victorian classics and, if my memory serves me right, a predeliction for Shakespeare and Dickens.

Our author was, in great measure, a product of his time. Born in the days when local cotton weaving was in its heyday, with concomitants that are now only a tradition; the clogs and shawls of the bright-eyed weaver-lasses, the knockers-up, with their long bamboo poles tipped with wire tentacles, the dawn chorus of clattering clogs which rose to a crescendo at a few minutes before six, to be followed by a boding hush, disturbed only by the hasty steps of a few belated stragglers: scenes such as these were woven into

the very pattern of his life and not merely painted on its surface. Hence his lyrics and songs are a reflection of a period when men's lives were fuller if more circumscribed; when they found their solace in simple things and were not devoured by that restless craving for novelty that seems to be one of the characteristics of the present generation.

This gives his work an indefinably nostalgic character; it is an echo of the past, embodying in its every line a tolerance and good-humour that leavened and stabilized social life at the close of last century, the counter-part of which we seem to have lost in the maelstrom of life to-day.

GEO. C. MILLER.

THE STUDY OF AMERICAN DIALECTS—II.

By RAVEN I. McDAVID, Jnr. and VIRGINIA McDAVID.

Characteristic features of dialect areas.

Within the relative uniformity of American English many striking regional differences occur. Not every well-known local speech-form will be found in the following list, but only those which characterise one or more of the dialect areas indentified on Map 2.

Many individual speech-forms, especially words, occur only in limited areas. Some of these are relic forms; others are cultural innovations. For example in Chicago **prairie** 'vacant lot'; in Minneopolis **boulevard** 'grass strip between the sidewalk' (British **pavement**) and the street (this strip is known in Cleveland, Ohio, as the **tree-lawn** and in Akron, less than thirty miles away, as the **devil strip**); New Jersey **swiveltree** 'whipple-tree'; north eastern Florida **dago** 'low-lying grassland'; savannah, Georgia, **confectionery** 'small neighbourhood food store'; Williamsburg County, South Carolina, **chay!** 'call to summon cattle.'

The numbers in parentheses after each area correspond to the numbers on Map 2. Roman numerals after each item indicate, in so far as it has been determined, the social distribution of the form within the particular area where it has been observed. The figures correspond essentially to the social classes of Atlas informants:[14]

I. Old-fashioned, rustic, poorly educated speakers.

II. Younger, more modern, better educated speakers.

III. Cultured, well-educated speakers.

When these figures are enclosed in brackets, less currency in that group is indicated.

ATLANTIC SEABOARD AREAS AFTER KURATH

THE NORTH

1. North-eastern New England.
2. South-eastern New England.
3. South-western New England.
4. Inland North (Western Vermont, upstate New York, and derivatives).
5. The Hudson Valley.
6. Metropolitan New York.

THE MIDLAND: NORTH MIDLAND

7. The Delaware Valley (Philadelphia).
8. The Susquehanna Valley.
10. The Upper Ohio Valley (Pittsburgh).
11. Northern West Virginia.

THE MIDLAND: SOUTH MIDLAND

9. The Upper Potomac and Shenandoah Valleys.
12. Southern West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky.
13. Western Carolina and Eastern Tennessee.

THE SOUTH

14. Delmarva (eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay).
15. The Virginia Piedmont
16. North-eastern North Carolina (Albemarle Sound and Neuse Valley).
17. The Cape Fear and Peedee Valleys.
18. The South Carolina Low Country (Charleston).

———o———

THE NORTH (1-6).

Pronunciation:

difference between **mourning** and **morning**, **hoarse** and **horse, fourteen** and **forty,** etc. The first word of each pair has a higher vowel. I, II, III. Difference receding in Inland Northern.

the initial consonant of **then** in **with, without.** I, II, III. Possibly receding in Inland Northern.

/-s-/ in **grease** (verb) and **greasy.** I, II, III.

the vowel of standard English **good** in **roots.** I, II, [III].

the vowel of standard English **cut** in **won't.** I, II, III.
But see New York City:

the vowel of standard English **good** or **fool** in **gums.** I, [II].
Receding in Inland Northern.

the vowel of standard English **cut** in the stressed syllable of **because.** I, II, III. Also South Carolina-Georgia Low-Country.

the vowel of **father** or that of **law** in **nothing.** I, [II].

Vocabulary:

pail I, II, III. (Midland and Southern **bucket**).

swill 'garbage, especially as fed to pigs.' I, II, III. (Midland and Southern **slop**).

Clapboards 'finished siding on a house.' I, II, III. (Midland and Southern **weatherboards, weatherboarding**).

brook 'small stream' I, II, III. Rare in Inland North.

(cherry) pit 'seed' I, II, III.

angleworm 'earthworm' I, II, III.

johnnycake 'cornbread' I, II, III[15].

whiffletree, whippletree I, II, III.

eavestrough 'gutter or roof' I, II, [III]

spider 'frying pan' I, II. Receding in Inland Northern. (Also Southern).

fills, thills 'buggy shafts' I, II.

quite (spry) I, II, III (Midland and Southern **right**).

(devil's) darning needle 'dragon fly' I, II [III].

Morphology and Syntax:

dove (with the vowel of **grove**) as the preterit of dive I, II, III.

sick to the stomach I, II [III].

all to once [I, II]. Receding in Inland Northern.

(he isn't) to home I, II. Receding in Inland Northern.

hadn't ought 'oughtn't' I, II.

(it) **wa'n't** (me) (with the vowel of **father** or that of **law**) I, II. (Also Southern). Receding in Inland Northern.

see as preterit. I, II. (Also Southern).

clim as preterit of **climb**. I, II. (Also Southern).

be as finite verb **(How be you? Be I going to?)** I. Rare in Inland Northern.

begin as preterit [I, II]. (Also Southern).

scairt 'scared' I, II.

Pronunciation:

/-r/ 'lost' except before vowels: **barn, beard, four, Thursday, horse, father,** etc. (Also New York City and Southern). Linking and intrusive /r/ are common: **idear of it, lawr and order, etc.** I, II, III.

crop, lot, on, fog with the same vowel these word have in Received Pronunciation. I, II, III. Often no distinction between these words and words like **fought, law, horse,** etc.

Tuesday, due, new with the vowel of **booty** rather than that of **beauty.** I, II, III. (Also North Midland).

a shortened and centralized (o) in **stone, coat,** etc. I, [II, III]. (Also sporadically in Inland North).

beard, ear, etc. with the vowel of **bee.** I, II, III. (Also New York City).

Mary, dairy with the vowel of **hate.** I, II, III. (Also New York City and Southern).

Vocabulary:

pig-sty 'pen' I, II, III.

bonny-clabber, -clapper 'curdled milk' I, II, III.

sour-milk cheese 'cottage cheese' I, [II, III].

apple dowdy 'deep-dish apple pie' I, II, III.

buttonwood 'sycamore' I, II, III.

Morphology and Syntax:

waked up I, [II, III]. (Also Southern).

(Forms found in north eastern New England).

riz rose' I. (Also Southern).

driv 'drove' I. (Also Southern).

div 'dived' I. (Also Southern).

gwine 'going' I. (Also Southern).

(I was sitting) agin (him), against (him) 'next to' I.

INLAND NORTHERN (4)

(Usually includes all or part of New England settlement areas in the Great Lakes Basin and Upper Mississippi Valley).

Pronunciation:

/ r/ kept after vowels: **horse, four, father,** etc. I, II, III. (Also Midland).

on, hog, fog, frog (not **dog, log**) with the vowel of Received standard **father.** I, II, III. (Also eastern Pennsylvania, eastern Virginia, and eastern North Carolina).

beat with the vowel of **hat.** I, [II, III]

Vocabulary:

stoop 'porch,' I, II, III. (Also New York City and Savannah Valley).

lobbered milk, loppered milk 'curdled milk' I, II, III.

Dutch cheese 'cottage cheese' I, II.

sugar bush 'maple grove' I, II, [III].

stoneboat 'sled for hauling stones' I, II, III.

Morphology and Syntax:

There are buttons **onto** the coat. [I].

We burn coal **into** the stove. [I].

NEW YORK CITY AND LOWER HUDSON VALLEY (5-6)

Pronunciation (usually confined to the immediate vicinity of New York City):

/-r/ 'lost' except before vowels; New York City only. I, II, III. (Also New England and Southern).

No distinction between **mourning: morning, hoarse: horse,** etc. New York City and Hudson Valley. I, II, III. (Also North Midland).

Adjourn: adjoin, curl; coil, earl: oil, etc. frequently not distinguished. I, II. (Also occasionally in New Orleans).

Mary, dairy with the vowel of hate. I, II, III. (Also eastern New England and Southern).

won't with the vowel of **boot** (New York City and Hudson Valley) I, II, [III]. (Also Charleston area).

/w/ regularly for /hw/ in **wheelbarrow,** etc. (New York City and Hudson Valley). I, II, III. (Also eastern Pennsylvania and the Charleston area).

Glottal stop for /t/ in **bottle, mountain,** etc. (New York City only). I, II.

/d/ for the initial consonant of **this,** etc. (New York City only, chiefly in foreignized speech). [I],

Long Island as in **Long Guyland.** (New York City only, chiefly in foreignized speech). [I], [II].

Vocabulary (usually includes the Hudson Valley):

dominie 'pastor' I, II, III.

pot cheese 'cottage cheese' I, II, III.

olicook 'doughnut' I.

hunk 'base' in tag games. (New York City only). [I].

-kill 'small stream' (proper names only). I, II, III.

barrack 'haystack' (rural only). I, II.

Suppawn 'corn mush' (rural only). I, II.

skimmerton, skimmilton 'mock serenade after a wedding' (rural only). I, II.

Morphology and Syntax:

He lives **in** Henry Street. I, II [III]. (Also Charleston and Canada, possibly Baltimore).

We stood **on** line. I, II, III.

MIDLAND (7-13)

Pronunciation:

/-r/ kept after vowels I, II, III. (Also Inland North).

Vowels of **law** in **on** (alsoSouthern); in **wash, wasp;** in **log, hog, fog, frog.** I, II, III.

Mary, dairy with the vowel of **bet** I, II, III.

Final vowel of **sofa** in the unstressed syllable of **haunted, careless, pumpkin** I, II, III.

Vowel of **bit** in the unstressed syllable of **stomach** I, II.

Consonant of **thigh** regularly in **with, without** I, II, III.

/r/ frequently intrudes in **wash, Washington, mush, judge,** etc.

Vocabulary:

blinds 'window shades' I, II, III. (Also Canada).

skillet 'frying pan' I, II, III. Spreading in North Central States and Upper Midwest.

snake feeder 'dragon fly' I, II, [III]. Competes with **snake doctor** in South Midland.

poke '(paper) sack' I, II, [III]. Not in eastern Pennsylvania.

sook! 'call to cows' I, II [III]

green beans 'string beans' I, II, III. Not in eastern Pennsylvania.

a little piece 'short distance' I, II, III. (Also South Carolina).

Morphology and Syntax:

clum 'climbed' I, [II].

seen 'saw' I, II. Spreading in North Central States.

you-uns (second person plural pronoun) I, [II]. Not in eastern Pennsylvania.

all the further 'as far as' I, II.

I'll wait on you 'for you' I, II, [III]. (Also South Carolina).

Receding in North Central States.

I want off I, II, [III].

quarter till eleven I, II, III.

NORTH MIDLAND (7-8, 10-11)

Pronunciation:

Tuesday, due, new, etc. with the vowel of booty rather than that of **beauty.** I, II, III. (Also eastern New England).

No distinction between such pairs of words as **mourning: morning, hoarse: horse,** etc. (Also Hudson Valley).

creek predominantly with the vowel of **bit** I, II, [III]. (Also common in North and spreading in Inland Northern).

Vocabulary:

spouting, spouts 'roof gutters' I, II, [III].

run, 'small stream' I, II, III.

smearcase 'cottage cheese' I, II, [III].

Morphology and Syntax: no forms observed.

SOUTH MIDLAND 9, 12-13)

Pronunciation:

nice, time, etc. with simplification of the diphthong. I, II.

Vocabulary:

french harp harmonica' I, II, [III].

pack 'carry, tote' I, II.

clabber milk 'curdled milk' I, II, III.

red worm 'earthworm' I, II.

sugar tree 'sugar maple' I, II, [III].

fireboard, mantelboard 'mantel shelf' I, II.

milk gap 'cow pen' (place for milking cows in open pasture) I, [II].

Morphology and Syntax:

dogbit 'bitten by a dog' I, II. (Also South Carolina).

the sun **raised** I, [II].

drinkt (preterit and participle) I.

shrinkt (preterit and participle) I.

sot down 'sat' I.

swim (preterit) I.

I **ran on him** 'met' I, [II].

THE SOUTH (14-18)

Pronunciation:

/-r/ lost except before vowels [I, II], III. (Also eastern New England and New York City). Linking and intrusive /r/ usually do not occur in the South after stressed syllables, but are very common after some unstressed syllables, as in **swaller it.**

Mary, dairy with the vowel of **hate.** I, II, III. (Also eastern New England and New York City).

bleat with the vowel of **hate** I, II, III.

Mrs. with /z/ ("mizzie" or "miz") I, II, III.

unstressed syllables of **haunted, careless, pumpkin** with the vowel of **bit** or a reduced variant. I, II, III. (Also North).

unstressed syllables of **towel, funnel, mountain** with the vowel of **bit** or a reduced variant. I, II, [III]. (Also Eastern New England).

Vocabulary:

lightwood (homonymous with **lightered**) 'fatty kindling, usually of pine' I, II, [III].

low 'moo' I, II, III.

tote 'carry' I, II.

carry 'take, escort, conduct' I, II, [III].

chittlins 'edible intestines' I, II, III.

co-wench! 'call of cows' I, II, III.

hasslet 'liver and lungs' (of a pig or calf) I, II, III (Also North).

snap beans, snaps 'string beans' I, II, III. Spreading with the development of stringless varieties by horticulturists.

harp, mouthharp 'harmonica' I, II, III. Not in Charleston area.

turn of wood 'armload' I, II, [III].

fritters 'corn or fruit dipped in batter and fried in deep fat' I, II, III.

Confederate War 'American Civil War' (1861-65) I, [II, III].

Morphology and Syntax:

It **wa'n't** me I, II, [III]. (Also North).

He **belongs to be** careful. 'ought to be' I, II.

heern tell 'have heard told' I. (Also north eastern New England).

He **do** 'does' I.

What **make** him do it? 'makes' I.

Is I going? I.

gwine 'going' I. (Also north eastern New England).

he fell **outn** the bed. I.

I like him **on account of** 'he's so funny.' I, [III].

all two, all both 'both' [I, II].

DELMARVA (14)

Vocabulary:

lodge 'bed on the floor' I, II.

caps 'corn husks' I, II, [III].

Morphology and Syntax:

mongst-ye 'second person plural pronoun' I, [II].

EASTERN VIRGINIA (14-15)

Pronunciation:

long, strong, with the vowel of **father** I, II.

pasture and a few other words with the vowel of **father** I.

stairs with the vowel of **father** I.

home with the vowel of **good** I.

afraid with the vowel of **bet** I, II, III.

Vocabulary:

batter bread 'spoon bread (soft cornbread) I, II, III.

lumber room 'store room' I, II, III.

croker sack, crocus sack 'burlap bag' I, II, [III]. (Also South Carolina).

corn house 'corn crib' I, II. (Also South Carolina and New England).

hoppergrass 'grasshopper' I.

goobers 'peanuts' I, II, [III]. Has also spread into South Midland.

Morphology and Syntax:

clome 'climbed' I.

see (preterit) I, II. (Also Northern).

I ran **up on** him 'met' I, II.

He did it **for purpose** I, [II].

SOUTH CAROLINA-GEORGIA LOW COUNTRY (18)

Pronunciation:

whip, wheelbarrow, etc. with /w/. [I, II, III]. (Also Hudson Valley and eastern Pennsylvania).

pot, crop, oxen with a rounded vowel, as in Received Pronunciation. I, [II, III]. (Also eastern New England).

won't with the vowel of **boot** or that of **good.** [I, II, III].

no contrast before /r/ (or derivatives of /r/) in such pairs as **ear: air, fear: fair, beer: bare,** etc. I, II, III. Rare above tidewater.

/b/ in **coop** I, II. (also eastern North Carolina).

with, without with the consonant of **thigh** I, II, III. (Also Midland).

pa, ma, palm, calm with the vowel of **hat** I, [II, III].

fatwood 'fatty kindling' I, II, [III]. Tidewater in South Carolina, extending further inland in Georgia and Florida.

press, clothespress 'movable wardrobe' [I, II, III]. Chiefly in Santee Valley of South Carolina.

stoop 'small porch' [I, II, III]. Chiefly in Savannah Valley. (Also Nothern).

cripple 'scrapple' [I, II, III]. Savannah Valley.

spring frog 'small green frog' I, II, III.

groundnuts 'peanuts' I, II, III. (Also Delaware Bay).

joggling board 'springing board anchored at both ends' I, II, III

awendaw 'spoon bread' (soft cornbread) [I, II, III]. Only in immediate neighbourhood of Charleston.

savannah 'grassland' I, II, III.

mutton corn 'sweet corn tender enough to be eaten from the cob' I, II, [III].

sivvy beans, seewee beans 'lime beans' I, II, III.

corn dodgers 'dumplings' I, II.

(Africanisms of various spread:)

bloody-noun 'large bullfrog' I, II, III.

cooter 'turtle' I, II, III.

pinders 'peanuts' I, II, [III].

yard-ax 'untrained preacher' [I]. Widely known, but generally labelled a Negroism.

pinto 'coffin' [I]. Chiefly from Negro informants.

Morphology and Syntax:

he lives **in** King Street. I, II, III. Charleston only. (Also New York City, Canada, and possibly Baltimore).

(Forms current in Negro speech, occasionally in old-fashioned white speech:)

He came over **for** tell me. [I].

uninflected preterits and participles [I].

SOUTH AND SOUTH MIDLAND (9, 12-18)

Pronunciation:

Tuesday, new, due with the consonant-vowel sequence of **beauty** (as in Received Pronunciation) I, II, III.

distinction between such pairs of words as **mourning: morning, hoarse: horse, fourteen: forty.** I, II, III. (Also Northern).

grease (verb) and **greasy** with /z/.

stairs, care, chair with the vowel of hat. I, II, III. (Also Northern).

poor, your with the vowel of **go.** I, II, [III].

coop, cooper with the vowel of **good.** I, II, [III].

put with the vowel of **cut.** I, [II].

bulge, bulk, budget with the vowel of **good.** I, II, [III]. Not in Carolina-Georgia coastal plain, which agrees with North and North Midland in having the vowel of **cut.**

Vocabulary:

light bread 'white bread' I, II, III.

clabber 'curdled milk' I, II, III.

corn shucks 'husks' I, II, III.

pallet 'bed on floor' I, II, III.

jackleg preacher 'unskilled preacher' I, II, [III]. The epithet **jackleg** is also used of other occupations.

snack 'light lunch between meals' I, II, III. (Also New York City).

pulley bone 'wishbone' I, II, III.

snake doctor 'dragon fly' I, II, III. Not on Carolina-Georgia coast, where **mosquito hawk** prevails.

ha'nts, haunts 'ghosts' I, II, [III]. Receding north of Ohio River.

disremember 'forget' I.

hayshocks 'haycocks' I, II, III.

branch 'small stream' I, II, III.

Morphology and Syntax:

you-all (second person plural pronoun) I, II, III.

I **might could** I, II. (Also Pennsylvania German area).

I'm not for sure I, II.

seed 'saw' I.

I **taken** (preterit) [I], II.

tuck (preterit or participle of **take**) I, [II].

holp 'helped' I, [II].

riz 'rose' I. (Also north eastern New England).

div 'dived' I. (Also north eastern New England).

mought 'might' I.

dissyllabic form of **fists, posts, ghosts, costs,** etc.

hissel, theirself, theirselves I, [II]. ('Also north eastern New England).

inflected comparison of present and past participles when used adjectively: **lovinger, grown-uppest,** etc. I, [II].

bought bread 'baker's bread' I, II.

perfective use of **done,** as **I've done told you that already.** I, II, III.

use to didn't, use to wouldn't, etc. I, II.

half after seven [I, II].

CANADA (principally Ontario)

Pronunciation:

shone with the vowel of **father** or of **law.** I, II, III.

won't with the vowel of **boot** or that of **good.** [I, II, III]. (Also Hudson Valley and the Charleston area).

homonymy of such pairs of words as **cot: caught, tot: taught, collar, caller.** [I, II, III]. Chiefly western Canada. (Also western Pennsylvania, eastern New England, and parts of the Upper Midwest).

Vocabulary:

chesterfield 'sofa' I, II, III. (Also northern California).

coal oil 'kerosene' I, II, III. (Also eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Shenandoah Valley; spreading in Ohio and Mississippi Valleys).

shivaree 'mock serenade after a wedding' I, II, [III]. Spreading in Ohio and Mississippi Valleys.

county town 'county seat' I, II, III.

reeve 'township officer' I, II, III.

warden 'county officer' I, II, III.

tap 'water faucet' I, II, III.

serviette 'table napkin' [I], II, III.

stook 'pile of sheaves' I, II, [III].

coil (of hay) 'haycock' I, II, [III].

Morphology and Syntax:

he lives **in** King Street. I, II, III. (Also New York City, Charleston, and possibly Baltimore).

NOTES

1. Kurath had previously discussed regional differences in American English and their affiliations with British dialects, notably in **American Pronunciation** (S. P. E. Tract 30, Oxford and New York, 1928), and "Origin of the Dialectal Differences in Spoken American English," **Modern Philology,** vol. 25, pp. 385-395 (1928).

2. The validity of such questionnaires for determining the regional distribution of vocabulary items was first demonstrated by A. L. Davis, **A Word Atlas of the Great Lakes Region** (Microfilm Dissertation,University of Michigan, 1949). This method of investigation has been profitably adapted to the plans of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland.

3. See H. Rex Wilson, "The Transcription of Tape Recording," **Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association,** vol. 2, pp. 17-22 (1956); R. I. McDavid, Jr., "Tape Recording in Linguistic Geography a Cautionary Note," **Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association,** vol. 3, pp. 3-8 (1957).

4. Portions of Ives's dissertation have been published: "A Theory of Literary Dialect," **Tulane Studies in English,** vol. 2, pp. 137-182 (New Orleans, Lousiana); **The Phonology of the Uncle Remus Stories, Publication of the American Dialect Society,** vol. 22 (1954).

5. Norman's findings are summarized in "A Southeast Texas Dialect Study," **Orbis,** vol. 5, pp. 61-79 (1956).

6. Frederic G. Cassidy "On Collecting Dialect," **American Speech,** vol. 23, pp. 185-193 (1948); **A Method for Collecting Dialect** (in collaboration with Audrey S. Duckert) **Pub. Am. Dial. Soc.,** vol. 20 (1952).

7. Menchen, "Non-English Dialects in America," **The American Language** (4th ed., New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1936), pp. 616-697. **A.C.L.S. Conference on Non-English Speech in the United States** (A.C.L.S. Bulletin No. 34, Washington, D.C., 1942; Einar Haugen, **Bilingualism in the Americas:** a Bibliography and Research Guide, **Publication of the American Dialect Society** No. 26 (1956).

8. Carroll E. Reed and Lester W. Seifert, **A Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German** (Marburg, 1954);Carroll E. Reed (with an

introduction by Lester W. Seifort) **The Pennsylvania German Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks: Phonology and Morphology** (Seattle, Washington, University of Washington Press, 1949); Einar Haugen, **The Norwegian Language in America: a Study of Bilingual Behavior,** 2 vol. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, University of Pennysylvania Press, 1953); Leo Pap, **Portuguese - American Speech: an Outline of Speech Conditions among Portuguese Immigrants in New England and Elsewhere** (New York, King's Crown Press, 1949); James Macris, **English Loanwords in New York City Greek** (Microfilm Dissertion, Columbia University, 1955; to be printed as Monograph Number 3, Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York); H. Rex Wilson, **Relics of German-English Bilingualism in the English of Lunenberg County, Nova Scotia** (Microfilm Dissertation, U. of Michigan, 1958).

9. **Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

10. For a summary of the position see Raven I. McDavid, Jr. and Virginia G. McDavid, "The Relationships of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites," **American Speech,** vol. 26, pp. 3-17 (1951). See also R. McDavid's review of Turner, in **Language,** vol. 26, pp. 323-333 (1950), and of Eliason, **Tarheel Talk** in **Journal of English and Germanic Philology,** vol. 57, pp. 160-65 (1958).

11. The term "structural linguistics," like such more popular terms as "democracy" and "security," is used to cover varying and sometimes sharply conflicting viewpoints. The approach was foreshadowed in the emphasis of such nineteenth century students of language as Henry Sweet on systematical organization rather than on interesting but often scattered detail. The approach was developed before World War II in Prague by the late Prince Nicholas Trubetzkoy and in the United States by the late Leonard Bloomfield. Since 1945 at least three groups of "structuralists" have appeared: (1) those deriving their analyses from Trager and Smith, and their associates; (2) those under the leadership of Roman Jakobson of Harvard (formerly an associate of Trubetzkoy in the Prague group); (3) those inspired by Andrè Martinet of Paris formerly of Columbia University). Many linguists, of course, try to derive a "structuralist" approach more eclectically, utilizing the findings and theories of all groups.

The most comprehensive general statement of the structuralist position is Zellig S. Harris, **Methods in Structural Linguistics** (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952); unfortunately, it is poorly organized and very difficult to read. As far as the phenomena of English are concerned, Harris's book is likely to be replaced by A. A. Hill, **Introduction to Linguistic Structures,** (New York, Harvourt, Brace, and Company, 1958) which is much better organized and more viable pedagogically—though still not milk for babes.

From the viewpoint of the average citizen and average teacher of English, the most profitable introduction (though somewhat less rigorous) is to be found in W. Nelson Francis, **The Structure of American English** (New York, The Ronald Press, 1958).

12. The basic presentation of their point of view is found in Trager and Smith, **Outline of English Structure, Studies in Linguistics:** Occasional Paper No. 3 (Norman, Oklahoma, 1951). A more popular presentation is Smith, **Linguistic Science and the Teaching of English** (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1956).

13. The concept of junctures as phenomena significant in the system of a language was suggested two generations ago by Sweet, and in the 1930's—as **Grenzsignale**—by Trubetzkoy. The term itself was first used in George L. Trager and Bernard Bloch, "The Syllabic Phonemes of English," **Language,** vol. 17, pp. 223-46 (1941); it was discussed in more detail in Bernard Bloch and George L. Trager, **Outline of Linguistic Analysis,** (special publication of the Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore, 1952), and has since been utilized by many American linguists, as a class of phenomena to be looked for in the analyis of all kinds of languages.

In the last decade, many linguists and cultural anthropologists, especially though not exclusively in the United States, have suggested that human communication involves other phenomena than even the most comprehensive linguistic analysis can include. Two classes of communication phenomena have been at least tentatively recognized: "kinesics," the phenomena of gesture, and "paralinguistic" vocal activites (variously designated as "vocal qualifiers," "vowel modifiers," "vocal gestures," or "vocalizations") such as "drawl," "clipping," "rasp," "extra loudness," and the like. See George L. Trager and Edward Hall, **The Analysis of Culture** (Washington, D.C., Department of State, 1953; Ray L. Birdwhistell, **Introduction to Kinesics** (Washington, D.C., Department of State, 1952); Henry Lee Smith, Jr., **The Communication Situation** (Washington, D.C., Department of State, 1953); Robert E. Pittenger and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., "A Basis for Some Contributions of Linguistics to Psychiatry," **Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes,** vol. 20, pp. 61-78 1957); Norman A. McKuown, "Linguistic Transcription and Specification of Psychiatric Interview Materials," **Psychiatry,** vol. 20, pp. 79-86 (1957).

14. This outline list of dialect features was first drawn up by E. Bagby Atwood of the University of Texas for the benefit of his students. In its present form it is a modification of the version in R. I. McDavid, Jr., "The Dialects of American English," Ch. 9 of W. Nelson Francis, **The Structure of American English** (New York, The Ronald Press, 1958).

TH' OWD SPANIEL

Come, lay thi heead upon my knee,
Let's tak' things easy, thee an' me,
We're noan as spry's we used to be
I' days goan by:
Tha's getten tar'ble grey, aw see,
An' soa hev' I.

Tha'rt goan deeaf an' a', aw'm towd,
Thi e'en ha'n getten dim an' owd,
But th' love leet shines theer, breet as gowd
An' just as pure:
Aw s'miss it when tha'rt under th'mould,
Aw shall for sure.

Yet soon we s'ha' to part, they say,
For dogs an' men mun hev' their day;
Ye'n hed eawr spring-time, grand an' gay,
Tha corn'd deny:
An' neaw we'n come to th'end o'th'play
An winter's nigh.

We'n summun oft climbed o'er yon hill,
While th'titlark sung, so clear an' shrill
An' nature waited, hushed an' still
For th'break o' day:
Nor thowt as sunset, dark an' chill
Wod come eawr way.

Tha wags thi tail an' shakes thi heead,
Tha hesn't gaumed a word aw've said,
Tha'd rayther hev' a romp astead
While romp tha con;
Why ceawr i'th'nook afoor tha'r't deead
Time marches on.

Owd lass, thi faith fair mak's me shame,
There's dogs i' heaven, i' God's good name,
Them gowden gates worn'd look the same
If tha'rt noan theer,
Waitin' to finish off that game
We'n started here.

G.C.M.

DIALECT OF A SEAPORT

By FRANK SHAW.

Part III.

RHYMES, GAMES, PUB NAMES.

In earlier instalments I took Dicky Sam (or Frisby Dyke) the typical Liverpudlian using his queer mixed form of speech—half Lancashire hotpot, half Anglo-Irish of the O'Casey school, among his relations and friends, dealt with his customs as to food, drink, clothes and showing his pastimes, including fighting.

LIVERPOOL RHYMES

Me uncle Joe he was a savidge
He dipped his nose in pickle cabbidge
He ate the meat and chewed the gristle
And that is how he learnt to whistle.
I went to the pictures tomorra
I bought a front seat at the back,
I bought a plain cake with currants
I ate it and give it um back.

England was once a nest of singing birds and in Liverpool the impulse to song is still strong, an inheritance from the singers—and creators—of the sea chanteys: **As I was a-walking down Paradise Street, Crooked Lane, Lima Town,** etc. They create songs such as **The Old Neighbourhood,** expressing the nostalgia of people moved from their dirty but warm and human slums to nice well-planned suburban areas, following a clearance policy or bombing; and Maggie May, as authentic a folk ballad as Chevy Chase or Frankie and **Johnny** (see below). A popular pub tune, **My Brother Sylveste** (a strong man 'got a row of forty medals on his chest, He killed all the Injuns in the West . . .'), was not, however, a local creation as far as can be learnt.

Naturally it starts with the children. Almost all the children's rhymes collected by I. and P. Opie in the Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, are known in Liverpool with their own versions; and many others. Examples of both follow, the first seven being probably purely local, as the two above are.

One, two, three, Me mother caught a flea,
She put it in the teapot, And made a cup of tea.
The flea jump'd out, Me mother give a shout,
And up come the bobby With his shirt hanging out.

At least the bobby—a figure of affectionate fun to children years ago as he flat-footed his beat—appeared. He came so often 'after the fair,' i.e. when the fight or other illicit act was ended, and his late appearance was proverbial and tardy persons were compared with bobbies. His shirt was hanging out: shirts—the borderline of indecency

like rhymes about Auntie Nelly with the wooden belly—however appear in other rhymes; and here's the bobby again:

You're late, you're late, The bobby's at the gate.

(Which is late indeed, cf. the 15th Century rhyme, 'The times are waxing late, The judge is at the gate').

Chimbley's on fire, Bobby's a liar.

Poor people 'dislike paying sweeps and wait for a dusky or foggy evening, bung paper up, set fire to it and the chimney is clean without cost—unless the bobby sees it; neighbours would not complain of the nuisance. But they don't call the bobby a liar when they appear at No. 1 Court; the fine is assessed automatically on their plea of Guilty and the small fine is paid at once. Swift justice. But there was an interruption on the assembly line one morning. A skinny fella of the kind who become a focsle lawyer, shop steward or Cabinet Minister, pleaded Not Guilty. (A truly Bateman-like scene followed). He took up the time of the court to say, 'I didn't set it on fire deliberately.' 'I should hope not,' said the Stipendiary, looking over his glasses ominously, 'or you'd be here on a more serious charge,—One pound.'

It is always 'chimbley' which is Dublinesse; it was a Dublin actor who, according to Bram Stoker, misquoted 'Macbeth':—

The night has been rambuctious (Shakespeare had 'unruly).
Where we sleep, Our chimbleys was blew down.

Down in the forest where nobody goes
There lives ——— without any clothes.
(———representing the name of some unpopular teacher).

Teacher's rest Mother's pest,
Father's out of work.
(Sung just before school holidays start, 'breaking up' time).

Mickey Roche is no good
Chop him up for fi-er wood, (in U.S.A. 'kindling wood')
When he's done boil his head
Then we'll all have gingerbread.

Dearly beloved brethren
Don't you think it'sa sin
To peel the good potatoes
And throw away the skin?
The skin feeds the pigs
And the pigs feed you
Dearly beloved bretheren
Isn't that true?

Answer to I never (ie. I did not do it)

You never Don't be so clever. (It is a terrible thing to be clever, to 'think yer everybody,' to show off, 'posin', make a show of yerself an everywun else).

Isn't it funny, The cat's got money,
And I've got none.
Quick, quick, the cat's been sick . . .

Reply to I'll tell.

Tell her, smell her,
Knock her down the celler, With an old umberella.

Reply to What?

What, Pot, Eat it while it's hot.

(The taboo words are all about us . . .)

What's your name? Mary Jane,
Where do you live? Down the grid.
What number? Cucumber.

(The Opies have instead of Mary Jane 'Butter and tame' which in Ireland is 'butter and crame').

Holy Moses, King of the Jews,
('Nebuchadnezzar' say the Opies)
Bought his wife a pair of shoes,
When the shoes began to wear,
Holy Moses 'gan to swear.

(The metre often staggers and the rhymes can be abominable, as in nursery rhymes generally, e.g. Pail of water, tumbling after; thumb, plum).

The Opies say that children have not invented any parodies since the First World War's 'The moon shines bright on Charlie Chaplin,' except for 'Whistle while you work, Hitler bought a shirt,' but Liverpool made numerous parodies, some of them adult. For example:

(Down Texas Way)

Down Richmond Row
Where they pay no rent,
When the landlord comes
They say the rent is spent
Hit him on the head with the poker,
Lay him out upon the sofa—. (Poker, sofa!).

(Goodbyee)

I say, Mrs. Brown,
There's some sausage in the town.
Will you have it in yer hand or in yer eyee.

(Rule Britannia)

Rule Britannia,
Two tanners make a bob.
Three make eighteen pence and four make two bob.

(Take me Back to Blighty)

I ti iddly i tee,
Someone stole me nightie
And I had to wear me father's shirt.

(Never)

Never strike a match
On yer old man's baldy patch.

Never light the fire
With yer old man's wooden leg.

(Because)

And to ugh you pinched the beer
Off a the chiffonier
It doesn't matter, dear,
Because I love you.
(True love if ever there was).

Liverpool added many verses (alas, unprintable) to:—

It ain't gonna rain no more, and,
Inky pinky parly voo,

and children used to parody "The Charge of the Light Brigade" with

Half a leg, half a leg, half a leg, of mutton,
Into the pan of scouse, rolled the six hundred.

Children also made a rhythmic sentence out of the word "contents" in their school books:—

Conny onny,
Naughty Tommy,
Eating Noblett's toffee sticks.

while the letters A M D G (ad majorem Dei gloriam) on the top of hymn cards became, for frivolo'us Catholic children,

All mad donkey's gallop.

Verse commemorated the well-known street characters like Paddy McKeown who may or may not have given his name to the Liverpool word for winkles 'kewins':—

Paddy Irish sells fish,
three hapence a dish,
If you don't like Paddy Irish
You don't like his fish.

(Here is a resemblance to Johnson's "If a man who 'turnips' cries"). And a popular barber,

Billy the Barber,
Shaved his father,
With a rusty razor,
The razor slipped and cut his lip,
Hurray for Billy the Barber.

This may not be local, however, although there was a Billy the Barber, or else the rhyme had wandered, for it is heard elsewhere. 'Dan, Dan the dirty old man' is definitely non-local, it started as a quip about Queen Caroline.

Quite recently I heard a small boy chant:

I was standin' on the corner wid me coch an' chain,
Up comes a bobby and asses me name;
I pulled down the corner uv me gaberdine coat,
Out comes me tickler an' I cuts he's t'roat. (Nice lad).

Then there are the short most sybiliic items which could well be labelled 'From the Chinese':—

Look up,
Look down,
You owe me half a crown.
Here we are,
Ma,
All in a
Jam jar.

(or, alternatively—All in the one bed, All fighting for the pillar).

Here is an older, once very popular, ballad:—

Come all ye dryland sailors bold
And listen to my song,
There are but forty verses
So I won't detain you long.
'Tis all about the history
Of this here British tar,
As sailed as man before the mast
On board of the 'Calabar.'
The Calabar was a clipper flat
Copper-bottomed, fore and aft,
Her rudder stuck away out behind,
And her wheel was a great big shaft.
With half a gale to swing each sail
She made ten knots an hour,
Being the smartest craft upon the canal,
Though only one-horse power.
Her Captain was a strapping youth,
His height was four foot two.
His eyes were green, and his nose was red,
And his cheeks were Prussian blue.
He wore a leather medal that
He won in the Crimea War,
And his wife was pilot and passengers' cook
On board o the 'Calabar.'

(She dies, however and comes back to haunt the boat. 'And the only thing that would lay her ghost was a noggin of gin, 'made hot.' And the vessel itself runs into trouble after passing Atthol Street bridge and had to jettison some of her cargo—seaweed).

'Lay on more steam,' our captain cried,
For we are sorely pressed,
The engineer from the bank replied,
'The horse is doing his best.'

More recently:—

Pork and beans in a Yankee dish,
But give me Sunday morning an' the old salt fish,
I've got those Liverpool Blues . . .

I'll sing you a song, the Liverpool Blues.
It's all about a town we all would hate to lose . . .
Valencia is famous for its melons
But give me Scotty Roady an' its 'Two a penny lemons'
And when I die don't bury me at all,
But put my bones in the George's Hall.

Loved places are commemorated in rhymes too, such as Bootle 'where the bugs wear clogs' and, of course, Scotland Road, a street all non-Liverpudlians have heard of. Such as:—

Down in Brownlow Gardens
Where the game is never slack,
And a fella's been known to go solo
On ace, king, queen, ten, jack.
(Bummin for ale, boys and food)

Drink is of course celebrated as is seen in the almost forgotten:—

The rabbit-pie it sat upon the table,
We all made a rush for the door,
My old man he fainted in the chair,
And I fell through the floor—bish, bang.
The cat started laughing and the dog dropped dead,
The monkey up the chimbley did a guy,
As long as I live I'll never forget
The Night we had the Rabbit-pie.

Auntie Maggie's Remedy is another. Children have a witty one, Naughty boy, he wouldn't give over, and these are very charming:—

Goodbye, Mary, while you're away, Don't forget your old pal, Maggie. (The child is going in the fever van).

Up and down the line o' docks.

Selling matches penny a box, which the children of St. Francis Xavier's girls' school, Liverpool sang so sweetly, with other rhymes on the air.

Most famous of all is Maggie May which Joe Loss's band played as their first piece on the first night of commercial T.V. from Manchester.

Now you jolly sailor boys Come listen to my tale
I'm sure you will have cause to pity me,
I was a darned young fool In the port of Liverpool
When I sailed there on my first trip to the sea.
I was sailing round the Horn In a ship from Sierra Leone
And two pund ten a month was all me pay all me pay,
And I jingled wid me tin, I was easy taken in,
By a little girl round here called Maggie Maggie May
Oh, dirty Maggie May, dey ave taken 'er way, etc.
In the morning when I woke I found I was broke
No shoes or shirt or trousers could I find,
When I asked her where they were She answered 'Oh, dear sir,
Dey're down in Lewis's pawnship Number Nine.'
To the pawnshop I did go But couldn't find no clo'

So the pleeceman took that wicked girl away—girl away,
And the judge he guilty found her Of a-robbin' of a homeward bounder
And now she's doing time in Botny Bay.
Oh, Maggie, Maggie May, They have taken her away.
And she'll never roam down Lime Street any more—any more,
For she robbed full many a sailor And also a couple of whalers
And now she's doing-time-in-Botny-Bayyy.

* * * *

From rhymes, naturally, to games. And finally, I add a note on the nickname habit of the Liverpudlian as it touches on his places of refreshment. All perhaps a little out of place in a serious dialect magazine, but, a little levity never harmed a student and the old habits of the Liverpudlian, couched in his own peculiar phraseology, may provide more than a laugh. These things are dying out and a record of them may yet be as valuable as would a tape recording of the first performance of Macbeth or a verbatim note of fish-porters talking, in Doctor Johnson's London, over the midday pint.

* * * *

CHILDREN'S GAMES

The Liverpool child probably plays as heartily as he ever did but does he have such a variety of games? Does he spend too much time at the pics neglecting 'ollies' and 'flinchers'. The new estates may have something to do with it for a gutter of a certain type found "down town" (i.e. "in the old neighbourhood") was needed for a proper game of Three Oles with ollies (i.e. marbles, alleys), and Flinchers requires a good warehouse wall against which to throw the ball with the cry of 'Flinchers for All' or 'Flinchers for X'; a sort of Fives.

A wall was also needed for the game of Heavy on Ton Weight. In this game (called elsewhere **Sedate, Weak House** or **Solomon's Donkey**) a boy leans against a wall and another boy bends forward with his head in the other's abdomen; the rest of the boys jump on this last boy until the two at the wall can stand no more when it is someone else's turn. A simple game but good exercise. It does not seem to be played now.

Yet the Liverpool version of Prisoner's Base (called Relievo or —from the call Rally O—Relalio) is still popular and many a scouse commando may have had his first training at this brisk pastime.

For quieter souls with nimble fingers—usually girls—there was Fivestones under the name of Jacks and Ollies*. The jacks are the stones, of course, ('jack' occurs as a name for tools used in a game quite often); it is said—and it is surely believable, that Scots do not buy the stones—they were five a penny, each a different colour in our Johnny All Sorts—but use any five pebbles from the road. Jacks have been found in pre Christian tombs, so Liverpool kids as they

* Elsewhere Chuckies or Fly the Garter.

cast the stones one by one in the air and pick up the marbles as the stones descend are preserving a very old tradition. That children's games in varied places at various time should so closely resemble one another is surely something to exercise the minds of the student; there might be a clue to a puzzle there, certainly one feels support for a Theory of Dispersion instead of Evolution. This is particularly true of rhyming games. Liverpool children skip to a tune "A great big ship went through the Alley-O" which was the tune for games in 18th Century France and which American children now use.

A variant of Relievo, Kick the Can is not peculiar to Liverpool—it is played in Barrow under the name of Nurky—but was extremely popular there. One could always find an old can (the United States make of tin is always preferred) which had contained salmon or condensed milk, from outside the 'den' (prison) and an intrepid player could release his team from prison by evading the guards and kicking the can. The can was flattened for another game involving sliding the can from one chalk line to another, called Slide the Can.

Kids were good at making their own toys and the rubbish heap helped **Pecunia non olet.** The "money" used in the game of Shop, by girls and little boys, with cabbage stalks and empty boxes ('Any empty boxes, mister?" was asked of all shopkeepers, even undertakers, and cheeky boys when the answer was "yes" would say "Well fill them." Likewise "Any broken biscuits?" "Well mend them!") was glazed pottery called bannymug, found on these dirt piles. It is still used. Has any other currency lasted longer?

Bannymug was also used in hopscotch of which Liverpool had its own version one, the "French 8", maybe having something for the archaeologist.

A bit of wood found on a heap could, using an old knife-blade, be whittled into the shape of a torpedo and with another, longer, stick the old English game of tip-cat, as Peggy, could be played. You bang a narrow end of the torpedo so that the wood jumps in the air and then you hit it with the other stick as far as you can. It has affiliations with hurley-shinty and with golf. Under various names the game was popular in the North of England and was played by grown men. For that matter grown men play marbles—on waste spots and brick fields—in Liverpool. (See 'Morning in the Streets').

It is very amusing to discuss old Liverpool games with staid middle-aged Liverpudlians—no, **Liverpolitans**—black hats and all that, Shipping, insurance, soap, cotton, sugar, fruit are pushed into temporary oblivion and a fierce argument will arise as to how a 'bobber' (the champion cherry-stone in a certain game) was made whether the name for a 'delly' in the game of Buttons was not more properly 'a dandy'; what precisely, in a marbles game, did 'segs,' 'lassies' and 'ups' mean; and how and when to 'fang out' in Buttons.

In Buttons you see, the buttons are propelled along the pavements by a sharp rap with the inside of the thumb and if your opponent's

button could, at certain times be reached by spanning, fingers stretched a whole octave, this fanning out meant you could take his button. In those days boys had strong metal buttons on their breeches. A delly (a champion in the manner of a 'bloody alley') in marbles was made, after being flattened on a tram-line by making its circle into a square by the teeth-grinding process of rubbing in on the paving stones; it was then more amenable to manoeuvre in the game than when rounded. The games had most complex rules, hard to describe.

All games have their seasons, as so many observers have noted, and the change from skipping rope to whip and top, from diabolo to hopscotch, are as instinctive as the migration of birds and as difficult to explain. The little shopkeeper has to be as alert to changing fashions as the West End establishment.

'Cherrywobs,' played with cherrystones was obviously seasonal. (As 'wag' is a little thing so often in dialect it appears also as Cherrywags). Its most played-version combined Marbles and Buttons but there was Up the Spout, using the wastepipe running down the sides of houses. Embryo businessmen devised peep shows and cardboard Aunt Sallies charging cherrywobs for a peep or a throw ('Two and yer own back') whose aim was to accumulate as many stones as possible as country boys collect horse chestnuts. Then the season would change and the hoard meant no more than all that gold at Fort Knox. The hoarder, by the way, would have felt it somehow reprehensible to have obtained his stones by buying cherries. I don't know that the fruit was particularly liked. Liverpool kids used to have for a pomegranate the lust a negro child has for melons; after them came gooseberries (goosegogs)* the sound frequently in English meaning something round cf. 'googly' and 'goo goo eyes').

In all cases they are outdoor games. Even cards, which in the form of Banker and such simple gambling games, the slum kid can play before he knows his alphabet (if the alphabet is ever known these days), is an outdoor game; usually because of the 'scuffer,' the not very fragrant 'jigger' (back lane) is the venue for a school. (Housey Housey is also played—by adults too—Liverpool's own unprintable variations of the traditional calls—Kelly's Eye, Top of the House, etc.—being used).

The middle-aged gentleman met above would surely admit that the keen pleasure of playing in the street came from its being a slightly illicit procedure. A game of football always had the additional hazards of an angry parent fearful for his windows or wanting an errand done or—'douse ere's the scuff'—the arrival of Basil the policeman. He probably didn't really care, unless complaints had been made of noise or damage: it was fun to run away and sneak back when he had gone. The reduction in walking beats is robbing our children of this necessary recreation. The police on bikes and in cars whizz by, neither laughed at nor feared. Final hazard, the advent

* The Kings call the Military Police who have red caps "cherry nobs."

of marauding hobbledehoys. 'Pick up the ball 'ere's some big fellers.' A proverbial phrase.*

Liverpool lads love football ('footee') above all things. A local paper weekly depicts a team of ragamuffins such as would have disgraced Casey's Court (actually children are fairly well dressed these days) under the name of the Back Entry Diddlers—an old nickname for such street teams of which there was once dozens, some of which, e.g. Windsor Wednesday became fully-fledged teams playing in established leagues.

If they cannot get a small ball ('tannermeggar,' from its one-time price) 'or full-sized football ('casey' from the case round the bladder), they will use a ball of rolled up paper or an animal's bladder. These were given away at the old slaughter houses in Gill Street and the boys waded through blood to get them. It is doubtful if you could get one in the modern, handsome, super-hygienic abbatoir (pronounced abber-toyer). Or a tin can could be used; hence another nickname, Tin Can Dribblers. A bundle of clothes make the goal (there is many a dispute as to whether the ball goes under the bar) the posts being as imaginary as the touch lines. A game can go on for hours until dusk is pierced by a shrill maternal call. 'Oh no; let us play, for it is yet day—' is then the plea, or something like it. ('The ould girl shoutin', she'll have me life if I don't go.'). ('Ah man, five more minnits. It's urly yet—the cars is running.').

Better the long nights when cricket can be played instead, though you can see football on the hottest day. Without shoes and socks on too ('in deir bare webs').

If a cork ball ('corky') was used for cricket, windows were in greater danger than ever as the wicket (a lamp post) was nearer to the house than the goal had been. 'Wy don't you go and play on the Breck? I'm dreadin' ev'ry minnit the winder'll come in on me.' That was a good playing field—the Breck—though little more than a brickfield but the street was better with a big wall to climb every time the ball went over it ('six and out') for a boundary. The fielders ('faggers out') and the wicket-keeper ('backstop') would keep a sharp look-out for the bobby for misjudgment in overarm bowling ('no sneakers' was the appeal which stopped underarm) cost the life of many a street-lamp. Yet Basil would suddenly come upon the scene and it was, 'Eh up, ere's the Scruff' and 'away for slates' went for the laughing boys, 'dead scurred.' (Why does 'away for slates' describe a hurried exit as does 'whip' (also meaning 'to steal,' 'I whipped up the jigger' and 'Eh up?').

Other versions of 'cave' are 'douse' (suggesting sudden extinguishment), 'nix' (unconnected with nix for nothing which is also used: that is from the German 'nichts' via U.S.A.*) and 'eck eck.' A proverbial phrase 'eck, eck, 'ere's the nightman' refers to an ignoble

* Cf. Ireland's 'Bring in the washing, here's some Dublin jackeens' and Scotland's 'In wi the hens, here come the Glesca keelies.'

*Or is it from Romany 'nisser.'

practice in poor areas of making an official visit to a house by night to detect overcrowding: children had to be hurriedly hidden from the inspector.

Lamp-posts were used at maypoles, the rope from orange boxes being slung over an arm. It was a dangerous game for the rope wound round the post and the players could be dashed against the iron. They didn't care.

Another vigorous street game was Tick, in no way resembling the genteel tig of Mossley Hill. 'You're it,' 'No, I'm barley' (untouchable, having performed a certain rite) 'you're a flamin' liar, take that.' In the roughest areas it is alleged 'dey play tick wit atchits.'

There is also a leapfrog under the name of **Jump Over Back,** a chasing game **Shammy Round the Block,** a dirty game, **Deliver the Luggage** in which an innocent has a bag of ordure thrown in his face, **I Spy** (chasing), **Stroke the Bunny** (a round game), **Statues** (you have to stand still in various poses), Jigs (a combination of marbles and buttons) and all the skipping games with their traditional counting rhymes. 'Ink, pink, pen and ink, I smell a dirty stink, And I think it's you—,' 'dip, dip, dip, My blue ship, sailing on the water, Like a cup and saucer,' etc.

Girls used to play an elaborate game called **Washing** with a strange rhythmic accompaniment towards such as "What will I wash in wash in, wash in?—Wash in the thimble" and "What will I sew with? Sew with the poker" (Before that 'me father's wooden leg' had been to a pawn shop, a place well known to the city child). As girls bounce a ball they chant:

> One, two, three a-laire, I saw my Auntie Sarah,
> Sitting on er bumbaleara, Eatin' choclit biscuits.

They have many ball bouncing games and skipping games, but they vary only slightly if at all, from such as are played elsewhere.

There were also the internecine street fights. Gangs were organised in almost military form, ammunition being mainly the ubiquitous tin can, and bin lids being used as shields. There are no scrapheaps in Huyton, Speke, the Waller and the other new areas, so the can games are out.

A can kept many a child warm in winter. As "winter warmers" made by setting fire to wool soaked in paraffin inside a tightly-closed tin, they were smuggled, as portable stoves, into many chill class rooms. Cans, tied with string ending in a loop which one held in the hand also proved useful though dangerous as stilts. Cigarette cards featured in many games such as **Bloweyer** and a complex game called **Land** played with a penknife and a patch of soil anticipated Monopoly.

Toys had to be cheap or costless. Such was a penknife magnetised by being pressed against a gap in a tram-standard. Ask a physicist how. If a poor child had a copper he would be likely, instead of buying American chewing nuts, Jumbo toffee, stickalice (liquorice),

nougat, locusts, gobstoppers, to insert it in one of the mechanical gambling games (rightly called in New York 'one-armed bandits') called the Clown and other names. Many a penny stolen from a hard-up parent or from the foreign mission box went into these; and few came out.

In the summer they might go to the parks, with a parcel of 'chuck' (bread), and water in a milk bottle, for a day's fishing. There were tiddlers in the lakes. They are called jacksharps, nothing to do with the nimble Liverpool footballer, Jack Sharp. This is a translation of the Gaelic name 'kishawn.' Of course the word is cut down to 'jackie.' In an article in "John London's" a writer in 1952 used the word; but it is not in the Oxford Dictionary.

April Fool for Liverpool children is April Noddy (Lancashire) and if you try to make a fool of one after midday, he says 'April noddy's dead and gone, You're the fool for thinking on.'

Guy Fawkes Night is called Bonfire Night. This is not done to salve Catholic feelings for it has no anti-Popery touch in Liverpool. For that matter the fire is an old pagan rite much older than the accused in England's 'Reichstag fire.' A 'bonny' is made from contributions of inflammable material levied on all houses, each street having its own and as with decorations for the 12th, a priest's jubilee, coronations, street parties, streets try to outvie their neighbours. Local patriotism went so far in Everton, when it was a separate local government unit, that the Council paid a team of bonfire boys, who had their own captain, to see to the bonfire which doubtless was lit at Beacon Hill; the Beacon, which may have dated back to the Armada was destroyed long ago; for many of Liverpool's city fathers money and land values meant more than history.

Liverpool kids do not, as a rule, parade 'guys.' (On May Day little processions of a Queen in gauze and old curtains with a strangely garbed court seeking pennies are a common sight). There are 'clubs' in the shops, as at Christmas time, for buying fireworks but the poorest kids are satisfied with a penny **bangolite** which they would not recognise under its true name of Bengal Light.

Among themselves young children like to play those verbal games which have a 'catch' in them. Those mentioned by the Opies are all known, such as 'I am a gold key, I am a brass key, I am a monk-key' and 'I one the Bible, I two the Bible, . . . I eight (hate) the Bible.' (The Opies have 'Mother' for the Bible). They could add:—

I went up one stair, Just like me,
I went up two stair, Just like me,
I went in a room, Just like me,
And saw a monkey, Just like me.

Older children had a pastime which Ted Ray, the actor mentions in his amusing **Fiddling and Fooling.** This was to fish in the grids in front of cellar houses (plenty of them in the Pool, and many a family brought up in the cellars originally intended to hold rich men's

coal) with a bed lathe, bent at one end; inserted through the iron bars on top of the grid this made a makeshift fishing rod which proved remunerative to others besides Mr. Ray. The modern desperado prefers gas-meters. The indissoluble marriage between 'juvenile' and 'delinquent' had not at that time been solemnised. Penny bloods glorifying Spring-heeled Jack*, Robin Hood, Dick Turpin and Buffalo Bill did for the lively young what gangster pictures are supposed to do now; through the Magnet and Gem School stories, The Marvel, Penny Popular, Boys' Realm and Nelson Lee Library (after the detective suddenly turned into a schoolmaster and his street arab assistant Nipper into a Fourth form boy) did however provide a wholesome leaven in our reading which, perhaps, the films and T.V. lack. Since the twenties the old school has been replaced by a rougher genre which reflects the American trend towards wish fulfilment fantasy of unbeatable Samsons, not a little sadistic emphasis on torture which would make Chesterton now think twice of writing In Defence of Penny Dreadfuls.

But for the most part, thank heavens, the boys of those days, as most of them now, found their fun in the great outdoors or warehouses and cobbled roads.

To skip a leckie at risk of life or even more dangerous to climb a gap between the walls of two high buildings—say, a dock warehouse —by placng the side of each foot against each wall and mounting fly-like an inverted V going higher and higher, to reach the top and run among the chimneys; these were more suitable pastimes for those who, as "Pals" were to die at Mons, to go down with the 'Lusitania,' crash through the jungle with Colonel Lysacht-Finegan and earn a thousand George Crosses when fire rained from Heaven trying to crush the cargoes for Russia at their starting place.

* A native of Liverpool according to old legend in the William Henry Street—Shaw Street area.

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